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The procedures and setting for the establishment of a psycho-social adjustment program in the Bureau of Indian Affairs Albuquerque Indian School are described. Particular attention is given to the formal organization of the school and to other agencies having functional relationships with the school, since these factors and the physical location of the agencies seem to greatly affect the cooperation and communication between them. A major portion of the report presents a narrative account of the introduction of the project into the school and summarizes the major activities of the project team during the first year. Preliminary analyses of the types of mental health problems observed are offered to give some indication of the possible outcomes of the project and to create some impression of the type of information which is gradually accumulating. The appendices present sample case studies of a student's social history and a family interview. A related document is RC 003 321. (DK)

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PROGRESS REPORT

NIMH Grant 00843-02

Psycho-social Adjustment

In An

Indian Boarding School

September 1, 1963 - August 31, 1964

New Mexico Highlands University

November 20, 1964

RC003073

PROJECT STAFF

Regular Staff

Greene, Joel, E., Ph. D.	Experimental Psychologist and Project Director	40 percent of time
Saslow, Harry L., Ph. D.	Child-Clinical Psychologist and Co-Director (at present)	Full time since April 15, 1964
Harrover, May J., ACSW	Psychiatric Social-worker and Project Assistant	Full time
Roberts, Alan H., Ph. D.	Social-clinical Psychologist and Co-Director No longer with project	35 percent of time
Rohrer, John H., Ph. D. (Deceased March 1964)	Social Clinical Psychologist	Full time
Sears, William, H., M. D.	Consulting Psychiatrist	12 visits per year
Blake, Henry W., M. D.	Consulting Psychiatrist	6 visits per year

Visiting Consultants

Berlin, Jerome, Ph. D.	Director, Human Development Institute
Bjork, John W., ACSW	U. S. Public Health Center Flandreau Indian School
Bryde, Reverend John F., SJ	Holy Rosary Mission Pine Ridge, South Dekota
Graves, Theodore D., Ph. D.	Program Director, Research Training Program in Culture Change
Griffiths, Charles R., Ph. D.	Anthropologist, New Mexico Department of Public Health
Levy, Jerry, Ph. D.	Anthropologist, Window Rock, Arizona
Margolin, Sydney G., M. D.	Director, Human Behavior Laboratory, Ute Indian Project at University of Colorado School of Medicine
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PROGRESS REPORT

I. INTRODUCTION

This report is intended to be preliminary and tentative. Nevertheless the review of the first year's activities serves a useful purpose in permitting the project staff to retreat somewhat from direct involvement in day to day activities and to attempt to place in perspective the elements of the total program as it evolved during the year.

Specifically the purposes of this report may be enumerated as follows:

a) The school year is just beginning and plans must be made for the project program. Whatever gains were made during the last year should be consolidated and additional steps taken. Some of last year's activities obviously require continuation; others should be dropped and new ones substituted. In addition the role of the project and a mental health program in the school needs constant review. This year the project should move in the direction of becoming better integrated in the overall school program and administrative policies. Preparing a report of this kind may well suggest ways to implement these goals in the coming year.

b) The method and approach used are such as to inevitably introduce biases in our data and information. Some are apparent, but others are more subtle. These must be known in order to be corrected or compensated for. In short a form of self-evaluation is appropriate at this stage of the project.

c) A renewal proposal is under consideration by the project staff. This report not only supports such a request, but also indicates what extensions and modifications in the present program should be made.

This report is divided into three main sections; the social setting, the project, and the preliminary findings. In describing the school setting particular attention has been given to the formal organization of the school and other agencies having functional relationships with the school because the organizational structures of the actual physical locations seem to have had a direct influence upon the nature, frequency, and ease of communication between them. This, too, is part of the context within which both the school and the project have had to operate.

The section concerned with the project presents a narrative account of

the introduction of the project into the school and summarizes the major activities of the project team during the year. The approach and method are made explicit by presenting a set of principles which guided the project in this formative year.

The preliminary analyses are offered to give some indication of the possible outcomes of the project and to create some impression of the type of information which is gradually accumulating.

II. SCHOOL SETTING

The Albuquerque Indian School is federally operated, off-reservation boarding school with an enrollment in 1963-64 of 1,105 students-946 Navajos, 114 Pueblos, and 45 from other tribes and a staff of 150. The school was founded in 1881 as a Presbyterian Mission institution operating under contract with the federal government. In 1882 the school was moved to its present site in the Rio Grande Valley northwest of the center of Albuquerque where it was located on 67 acres of land purchased by citizens of the community and donated to the federal government for an "Indian Training School." In 1886 the school was taken over by the federal government and has been in continuous operation since that date.

The Formal Institutional Structure and Lines of Authority

The Albuquerque Indian School, together with 19 Pueblo day schools and those at Canoncito, Ramah and Alamo--segments of the Navajo Reservation separate from the main reservation--come under the jurisdiction of the United Pueblo Agency. The principals of all these schools are administratively responsible to the Director of Schools in the United Pueblo Agency. This agency is one of six under the Gallup Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; the others being the Consolidated Ute Agency, Ignacio, Colorado; Jicarilla Agency, Dulce, New Mexico; Mescalero, New Mexico; Navajo Agency, Window Rock, Arizona; and Zuni Agency, Zuni, New Mexico. Intermountain School in Brigham City, Utah, and Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe function administratively as "agencies" within the Gallup Area. Figure I is a map showing the geographic boundaries of the Gallup Area and the location of the agencies. Figure 2 is an organizational chart of the relevant divisions of the Gallup Area Office. Under the Navajo Agency are five subagencies: Tuba City, Fort Defiance, Chinle, Crownpoint, and Shiprock.

The headquarters of the United Pueblo Agency are in Albuquerque, located directly across the street from the school. The Area Office is

Figure 1

Map of the Area Served

By

Gallup Area Office

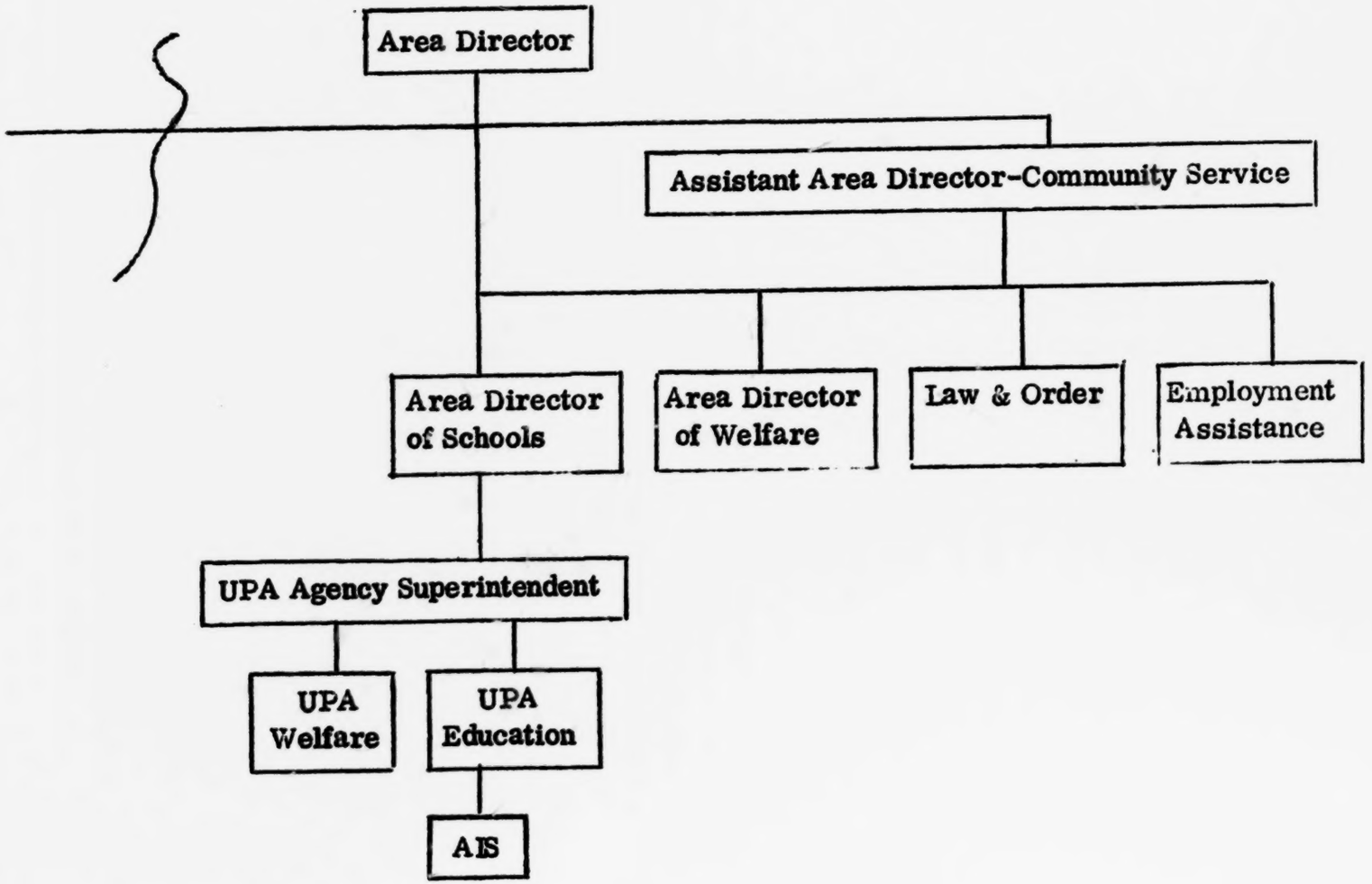
Subagencies:

1. Consolidated Ute Agency
2. Jicarilla Agency
3. Mescalero Agency
4. Navajo Agency
5. United Pueblo Agency
6. Intermountain School
   Brigham City, Utah
7. Zuni Agency
8. Institution of American Arts
   Santa Fe, New Mexico

NOTE: Hopi is under the Phoenix Area Office

FIGURE

PARTIAL ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE GALLUP AREA



in Gallup, 135 miles away.

The BIA Division of Welfare follows the same pattern of organization as the Branch of Education. There is a Director of Welfare for the United Pueblo Agency in Albuquerque who supervises two field social workers. One of these operates from a field office in Santa Fe and is responsible for social service to the Pueblos in the northern Rio Grande Valley; the second operates from Albuquerque and handles the area to the south and west.

At the Area Office level in Gallup both Welfare and Education, along with Law and Order and Employment Assistance, come under the supervision of the Assistant Area Director of Community Services. Thus some coordination between Welfare and schools is provided for at the area level, as well as at the agency level.

There is a medical clinic at the school which is under the U.S. Public Health Service, a federal agency administratively distinct from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1955 responsibility for Indian health was transferred from the Bureau to the Public Health Service which set up a Division of Indian Health. While the geographical boundaries of the Public Health Service district correspond roughly to those of the Bureau's Gallup Area, the area office of the Division of Indian Health is located in Albuquerque rather than in Gallup. The difference in service areas between BIA and USPHS is illustrated by the fact that Keams Canyon is part of the Chinle Subagency, but is under the Phoenix USPHS Area Office. There is also a field office in Albuquerque and another in Window Rock. Public Health Service Hospitals for Indians are located at Fort Defiance, Arizona; Gallup, New Mexico; Shiprock, and Tuba City, Arizona; and Albuquerque and on the Mescalero Apache Reservation. In Albuquerque is a tuberculosis sanitarium for Indian patients. Maps of areas served by the Albuquerque Office and the Window Rock Office are presented as Figures 3 and 4 respectively. The field clinic which provides medical service to the school is also responsible for similar service to the School of Practical Nursing, which is an entirely separate institution, and for contract care to Alamo dormitories at Magdalena and Socorro and to six of the Pueblos--Isleta, Sandia, Santa Ana, Zia, and Jemez. About 80 per cent of the clinic staff time, however, goes to the school. The clinic provides physical examinations, immunizations and out-patient treatment. All students routinely receive a tuberculosis skin test and flue shot, and at some time during the school year each student has a dental examination and necessary repair. Multiple community medical resources are used for those students who are sent to the Albuquerque School each year because of the availability of needed medical services.

Figure 3

Map of The Area Served

By

Albuquerque Public Health Service Office

Figure 4

Map of the Area Served

By

Window Rock Public Health Service Office

For example the most common need is for treatment of hearing difficulties (annual report of activities at the Albuquerque Indian Health Center, July 1, 1963--June 15, 1964). Otological treatment is provided and financed by the Crippled Children's Service, a federal program administered by the State Department of Public Welfare in New Mexico. This same agency also provides orthopedic care and plastic surgery. Another major health problem among the students is poor vision. The Navajo Tribe contracts for the opthamological care. Cardiac cases are referred to the Bernalillo County Health Department Cardiac Clinic; the State Rehabilitation Center in Albuquerque provides speech therapy and services to epileptic students. The County Indian Hospital, an institution for the indigent, under contract arrangements with the Public Service renders necessary clinical services.

What psychiatric service as is available to students is provided under a contract with this same hospital. The facilities there are inadequate. There is no outpatient psychiatric clinic, so that students referred for evaluation are admitted to a closed ward of sixteen beds where they remain about two weeks while a diagnostic study is conducted. This kind of arrangement discourages early referral and preventive intervention.

Communication concerned with medical care of AIS students by the clinic with tribal groups is channelled through the school principal. In cases where parents must be contacts, communication is from the clinic to the Public Health field nurse who has firsthand contact with the family. Arrangements with the community medical agencies are worked out directly by the clinic nurse and the agency involved.

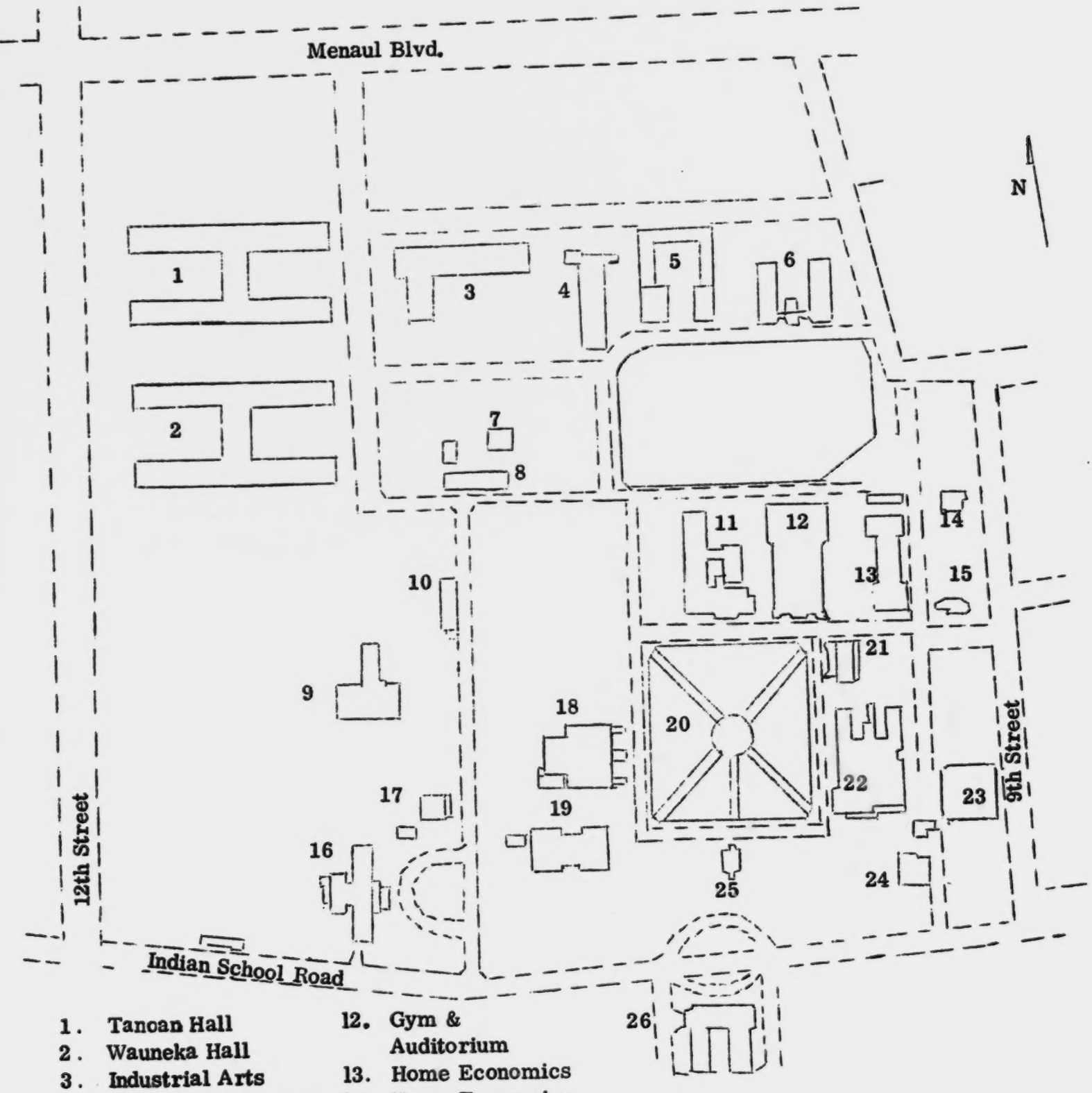
These organizational characteristics of the BIA and USPHS are important because they affect AIS and its students in a variety of ways. Some examples dealing with the operation of the medical clinic have been given. The relationship between the Branch of Welfare and AIS is also instructive. A number of students are placed at the school by Welfare. Despite the physical proximity of the two branches, communication on the case is limited by an agreement that when a child is placed at the school, the Welfare Division withdraws, although it may continue to work with the family. Only if the school is considering sending the child back home, does welfare reenter the case.

Organization of AIS

The physical arrangement of the campus is shown on the Map (Figure 5). The original plan envisioned placement of the academic buildings and dormitories around a central quadrangle. The buildingwhich houses the junior and senior high school classes; the Administration Building, Dining

FIGURE 5

ALBUQUERQUE INDIAN SCHOOL



1. Tanoan Hall
2. Wauneka Hall
3. Industrial Arts
4. Elementary Building
5. Elementary Building
6. Elementary Building
7. Band Room
8. Maintenance
9. Heating Plant
10. Hogan Hall
11. Rio Grande Hall
12. Gym & Auditorium
13. Home Economics
14. Home Economics
15. Home Economics
16. Nurses Home
17. Public Health Service Clinic
18. Dining Room & Kitchen
19. Academic Bldg.
20. Quadrangle
21. Guidance Building
22. Nokomis Hall
23. Tennis Court
24. Arts & Crafts
25. Administration AIS
26. Administration UPA

Hall, Gynasium, Guidance Building, and the boys' and girls' dormitories front on the quad. Expansion of the school program, and increase in enrollment, has necessitated the conversion of former barns into classrooms and the construction of vocational shop buildings and two dormitories for Bordertown students on the periphery of the school grounds. Although physical distances are not excessive, it can be seen that there is physical separation more or less corresponding to organizational distinctions. Some of the implications of this will be pointed out in later sections of the report.

The organizational chart is given in Figure 6. Broadly speaking, the school is divided into major parts, academic and non-academic. The academic section is divided administratively into three programs: 1) an ungraded elementary division; 2) a regular junior and senior high school program--Grades 7 through 12; and 3) the Bordertown program for Navajo students attending public schools. In addition for boarding school students there is a vocational program for girls and one for boys, both of these vocational sequences being integrated into the elementary and regular high school programs. Each of the four divisions of the boarding school--ungraded elementary, regular junior and senior high school, girls' vocational and boys' vocational--is under the direction of a Department Head who is directly responsible to the Principal of AIS.

The academic administration of the Bordertown program resides primarily with the public schools. Thus there is no academic organization for this program. However, there is a non-academic organization for the dormitories housing the public school students. This Department Head, who is under the Director of Guidance, maintains liaison with the public schools.

The non-academic or guidance program at the school is under a Director of Guidance who reports to the Principal of the school. The Director is responsible for the dormitories, plus the recreation program, interscholastic sports and the counseling. Under his supervision are the department heads of the three dormitory programs, the Head of the Recreation Department, the coach, and two unattached counselors. The two persons are state certified counselors and have their offices in the Guidance Building. They are unattached in the sense that they are not formally associated with a particular dormitory or academic program. One is assigned to girls, the other to boys. Each Department Head (Guidance), the job title of the person in charge of a dormitory, is in Grade 9 position in the Federal Civil Service salary schedule. Under the Department Head in the Dormitory is a Teacher-Advisor, a Grade 7 position. Then there is a group of Instructional Aids (Child Guidance) in each dormitory and a Supervisory

ALBUQUERQUE INDIAN SCHOOL

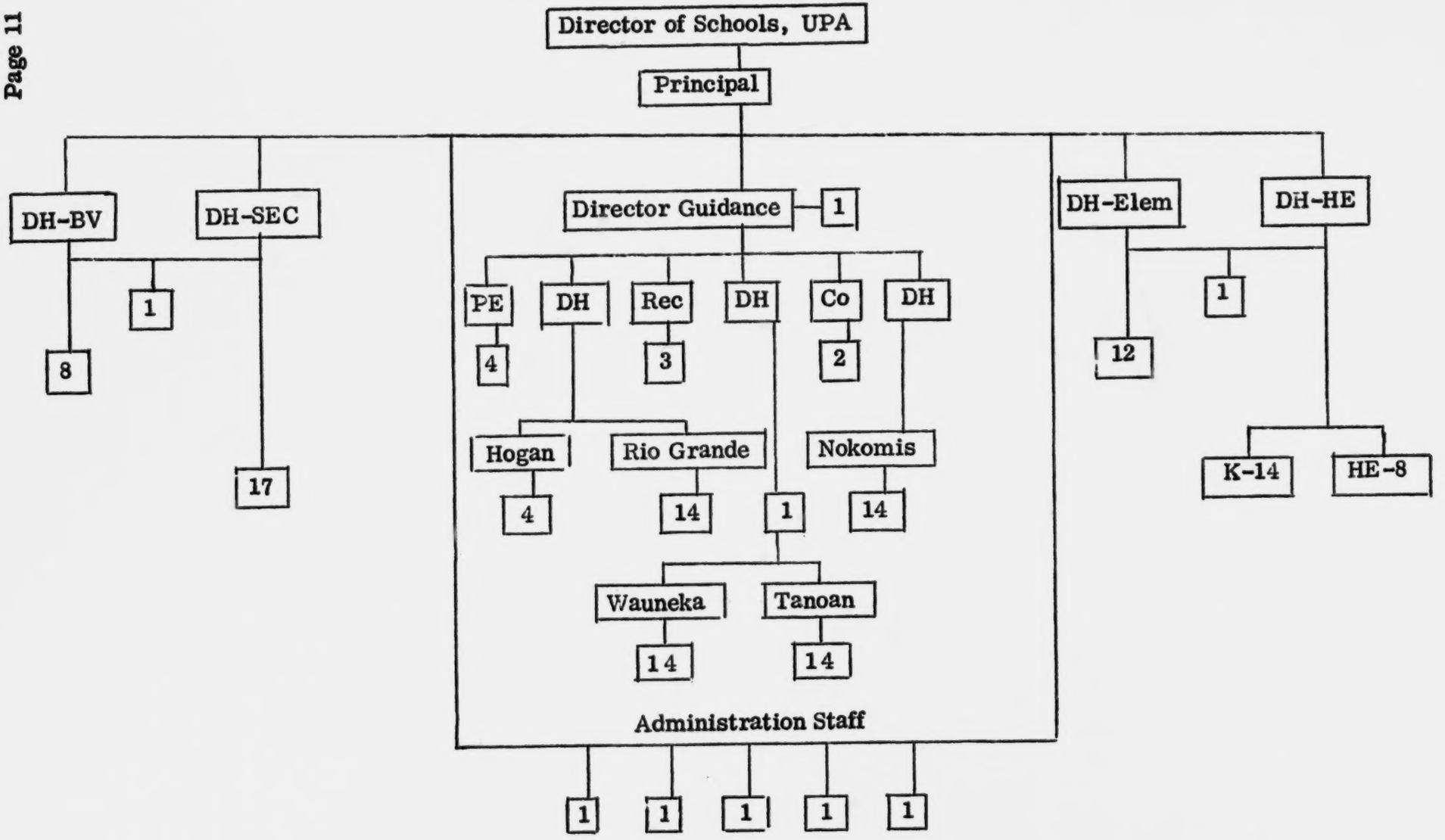


Figure 6

Instructional Aid, which is a Grade 5 position, the others being Grade 4.

Dormitory Arrangements.

There are five dormitories at the Albuquerque School. Two of these are buildings which were constructed in the late 1800's. The two Bordertown dormitories, completed in 1959, are the newest buildings on the campus. The fifth dormitory, Hogan Hall, in 1963-64 housed 60 of the younger boys. It, too, is a fairly new building of cinder block construction. Tables I - V present age and grade of residents in each dormitory.

The girls in the boarding school program were housed in Nokomis Hall in 1963 with the exception of high school seniors, who were assigned to the Bordertown Dormitory for girls to fill vacant space there. The age range of the girls was from 5 1/2 years to 22 years; the dormitory population is 340--predominantly Navajo. The dormitory is a two-story building, with a small study hall in the basement. On the first floor front is the office. There are three large living rooms, a television viewing room, and a small living room where the girls can entertain their male guests. During the early spring one of the large living rooms was requisitioned by the Academic Department as a temporary classroom while repairs were being made to the Academic Building.

There is space on the second floor which is used for a library and study hall. The students are assigned to dormitory areas by grade, for the most part, although during the year changes are made to make the groups homogenous by age. The majority of girls occupy metal bunks which are arranged in two double-deck units. Each group of four is divided from its neighboring cubicle by metal wardrobes. This particular dormitory is laid out in long porches which are lined with windows along the outside wall. Each porch is wide enough to accommodate a row of bunks down each side. In addition on each of the six porches are a few rooms, some of which house two girls and some four. In all there are 28 such rooms, which are assigned to the seniors and to those who do the best job of keeping her living area neat. On the porches there is no study space and no privacy.

The building which houses the older boys--except seniors in the regular high school--is of the same vintage as the girls' dormitory. It, too, consists of porches which are built around a central court. Every available square foot of space is used, with the result that recreational equipment purchased for the dormitory cannot be installed because the space is needed for living quarters for the boys. Three floors are used in this dormitory--Rio Grande. On the basement floor are rooms on

TABLE I

Nokomis Hall - Womens' Dormitory 1963

Year of Birth

Grade	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	Total
Elementary	1	1			2	3	10	21	19	21	20	7	10	5	2	2		2	2	128
Seventh								2	4	4	11	1								22
Eighth						1	3	15	13	17	1									50
Ninth					2	6	10	12	10	3										43
Tenth				1	7	10	10	8	2											38
Eleventh			1	2	10	14	6	6												39
Twelfth		1		2	3	7	5													18
Total	1	2	1	5	24	41	44	64	48	45	32	8	10	5	2	2		2	2	338

TABLE II

Rio Grande Hall - Boys' Dormitory 1963

Year of Birth

Grade	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	Total
Elementary			2	1	1	9	10	17	16	10	12	3	2	83
Seventh						1		1	4	2	8	1		17
Eighth						1	7	9	8	12	1			38
Ninth			1	1	3	9	14	16	14	2				60
Tenth			1	2	4	9	9	12	2	1				40
Eleventh	1	1		7	8	9	3	2						31
Twelfth		1	6	11	21	15	6	1	1					62
Total	1	2	10	22	37	53	49	58	45	27	21	4	2	331

TABLE III

Hogan Hall - Boys' Dorm
1963

Year of Birth

Grade	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	Total
Elementary	1		8	11	10	10	5	2	2	1	1	51
Seventh			1	3	1							5
Eighth		1										1
Total	1	1	9	14	11	10	5	2	2	1	1	57

TABLE IV

Bordertown Dormitory - Male 1963

Grade	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	Total
4th														1	1	2
5th											1	1	2	1		5
6th									1	3	3	2	1	1		11
7th								1	3	6	1					11
8th							2	15	9	13	3					42
9th						1	8	14	10	2						35
10th					2*	3* 6	1* 10	1* 10								7* 26
11th		1*		7*	8*	6* 6	3* 4	2* 2								27* 12
12th	1*	1*	6* 1	10*	14* 2	4* 2	2*	1*	1*							40* 5
Total	1*	2*	6* 1	17*	24* 2	13* 15	6* 24	4* 42	1* 23	24	8	3	3	3	1	74* 149

* AIS students living in the Bordertown Dormitories.

TABLE V

Bordertown Dormitories - Female 1963

Grade	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	Total
Fourth									1			1			2
Fifth										2	3	2			7
Sixth								2	5	7	2				16
Seventh					1	2	5	9	13	3					33
Eighth						10	12	11	2						35
Ninth			1	3	5	9	12	1							31
Tenth				3	13	20	4								40
Eleventh			3	5	2* 4	1		1*							3* 13
Twelfth	8*	3* 1	10* 4	9* 4	3*										33* 9
Total	8*	3* 1	10* 8	9* 15	5* 23	42	33	1* 23	21	12	5	3			36* 186

* Are AIS students living in the Bordertown Dormitories.

either side of a hallway, most of them accommodating two students. In the boys' dormitory decision about the assignment of the rooms is left up to the Instructional Aid on the floor; some of them putting it on the first come basis, rather than using room assignment as a reward or for status purposes.

The 60 youngest boys in the boarding school program--ranging in age from 6 to 14 years--are housed in Hogan Hall. This building is specially equipped for youngsters, having furniture scaled to their size and a centralized area for storage of their clothes, rather than individual lockers.

The two Bordertown Dormitories, which are separate but neighboring buildings, are one-story of cement block construction, each of them in an H design. The four legs of the pattern contain rooms and cubicles, about half of the dormitory space being given over to each type of arrangement. The cubicle areas are spacious and well-furnished. The Bordertown Dormitories also have recreational space and facilities--such as picnic tables for outdoor activities.

All students get their meals in the Dining Hall, a separate building operated under the supervision of the Head of the Home Economics Department. The menus are made up in the Gallup Area Office, and the food is purchased centrally through the same agency. The Dining Hall has its own staff, supplemented by ancillary services of the students.

Since the Dining Hall is not large enough to accommodate all the students at one time, shift arrangements are used, with the younger boys and girls having the earliest seatings. The Bordertown students are first in the Dining Hall for breakfast, because they must be ready to leave the campus by city school buses. Service is cafeteria style, with two lines converging in the center of the counter. The students are permitted to sit where they choose, boys and girls together, except when disciplinary action is taken to break up groups. Elementary school teachers supervise the younger students at lunch time; at the other hours staff (Instructional Aids)circulate.

Laundry, sheets and towels, is sent out. Personal laundry is done in most of the dormitories, with the exception of Hogan Hall which houses the youngest boys. Both the boys and girls in the older dormitories run into problems of inadequate laundry facilities.

All students, both those in the boarding school and Bordertown programs, are required to make their own beds, clean their living area, and in addition, have work assignments of a janitorial nature in the dormitories, Dining Hall, and academic buildings.

Enrollment

Enrollment at AIS climbed steadily from 1900 to 1930, slumped during the World War II years, and since 1959 has at times exceeded the capacity of the school dormitories. Table VI presents enrollment by major tribal groupings over the last seventeen year period. The fluctuations in student population seem primarily to be a function of changes in BIA policy regarding boarding schools, with the non-specific factor of two world wars also operative and particularly affecting this school with its relatively high percentage of older students.

The controversy over boarding schools versus day schools for Indian students has a history as old as the institution itself. The Principal of the school in 1884, when AIS was still operated by the Presbyterian Missions, stated his point of view as follows:

> The ultimate object of the Indian schools...not so much the improvement of the individuals as the gradual uplifting of the race. To this end it is important to guard against the formation of a wide gulf between parent and child, and to prevent the child from acquiring notions inconsistent with proper filial respect and duty. I am therefore, anxious to have local and neighborhood schools multiplied within easy reach of their homes, so that the parents may often visit their children, and thus grow accustomed to their improvement, and so that the children may spend each year a long vacation at their homes. The schools at the east and far from the children's homes should be used as normal schools, to prepare those who have shown ability and aptitude at the local boarding schools to be teachers and leaders of their people. (McKinney, p. 11 quoted from Annual Report 1885)

Two years later, however, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, then responsible for the policy of the school, extolled the superiority of the boarding school to the day school where "the language and habits of the savage parents are kept alive in the minds of their children." (Ibid. p 10) It is not surprising to find early reports indicating strong resistance from Pueblo parents, a resistance in which they were supported by the predominant church.

Over the years the educational emphasis at the school has also fluctuated in accordance with political changes in Washington and with the dominant interests of the school principals in those periods when geographic distance and difficulty of communication was both an asset and a disadvantage. As early as 1910 an effort was made to work out a course of study to enable the Indian

TABLE VI

Enrollment at AIS

Year	Total Enrollment	Total Non-Navajo	Pueblos	Other Non-Navajo	Total Navajo	Regular Program	Special Navajo Program	Bordertown
1947	642	not available					(67)*	
1949	689	254	228	26	435	196	239*	---
1951	720	444	404	40	276	54	222	---
1953	689	305	260	45	384	181	203	---
1955	976	327	242	85	649	235	414	---
1957	908	339	246	93	569	281	288	---
1959	1118	261	215	46	857	210	383	264
1961	1081	150	125	25	931	84	474	373
1963	1105	159	114	45	946	610	---	336

* 97 in first year Special Navajo Program (1948)

* Veterans Adult Education Program for Navajos

students to enroll in the regular school system. In 1925, 11th and 12th grades were added, making a full four-year high school course. AIS is now an accredited high school in the State of New Mexico, meeting all standards required.

The Albuquerque School was originally intended as a school for the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, who were the majority group in the school population until the 1930's. During this period when John Collier was Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the emphasis was on the construction of day schools; the off-reservation boarding schools were considered a recource for children of the "institutional" type or for those who could not get vocational training at home. After World War II, the Pueblo day schools were sending their sixth grade graduates into the public high schools located near the pueblos. At the same time the Bureau of Indian Affairs promulgated the Special Navajo Program, a five-year course of study planned to meet the special overage, non-English speaking Navajos. The first three years of this program covered general subjects--oral English, reading, writing, arithmetic, science, and social understanding. At the end of the third year when it was hoped that a 6th grade level of achievement would have been attained, the student chose a vocational training program, and the remaining two years were focused on the field of his choice, including on-the-job training.

The Special Navajo Program at AIS was initiated in 1948, with an enrollment of 239 increasing to 383 in 1959. Although the program was terminated in 1962, some remnants of it still remained in the curriculum in 1963-64, particularly, the continuation of on-the-job training for vocational seniors and home economics for girls.

In addition to the impact on the school of the above program, the BIA criteria for admission ot boarding school was formalized in March 1956 in such a fashion that AIS became predominantly Navajo.

In 1957 total Navajo enrollment at AIS was 569 (281 in the regular program and 288 in the Special Navajo Program); the total school enrollment was 908. In 1958 the Bureau of Indian Affairs concluded a contract with the public school system of Albuquerque for enrollment of Navajo Indian children, in the public schools of the city, and in 1959 the first group of 264 occupied the newly built dormitories on the campus. The Bordertown program operated concomitantly with the regular boarding school program, a situation unique in Bureau schools.

At the initiation of the Highlands University Project total enrollment at the Albuquerque Indian School was 1,105. There were 946 Navajo students (336 attending public schools and 610 in the regular program), 114 Pueblo students, and 45 from other tribes; in all 24 identifiable tribal groupings were represented. (See Table VII)

TABLE VII

Enrollment by Tribe and Program 1963-64

Ungraded Elmentary *		308
Navajos	248	
Pueblos	47	
Mescalero Apaches	13	
Other Tribes	0	
Regular Junior and Senior High School (Grades 7-12)		492
Navajos	362	
Pueblos	98	
Mescalero Apaches	20	
Other Tribes	12	
Bordertown program (all Navajo)		336

* 53 Vocational Students—Finishing out the Special Navajo Program

Sources of Students

Eligibility for admission to the boarding school is determined according to criteria established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1956 (Figure 7, Admissions to Boarding Schools 62 IAM 205, dated March 2, 1956). Education criteria includes distance from a school bus; those in need of a special course not available locally and scholastic retardation of three or more years. The social criteria include child neglect, several behavioral problems, and illness of other members of the household.

The BIA Branch of Education contracts with the Albuquerque Public School system for 350 Navajo children, the criteria for this program being no more than two year scholastic retardation. In general the Navajo tribe reviews applications and makes assignments to particular schools. Insofar as possible preferences of the applicants are considered.

There are at the school some 200 students--possibly more--who have been determined eligible for boarding school under the Bureau's social criteria. Such applications are processed in the subagencies and theoretically must be countersigned by the BIA social worker who prepared the social summary which provides information to the boarding school. Youngsters are also sent to AIS on order of tribal courts, acting in a quasi-parental role when there are no responsible relatives; some are on parole from penal institutions. Still other individuals are sent because of its proximity to medical facilities. The three major medical problems are to replace or repair perforated ear drums, orthopedic surgery or treatment of students with congential hip deformities, and eye refractions. In the school year 1963-64 there were 46 otological cases; 24 orthopedic cases, and 211 pairs of new glasses received by students.

Since all of the non-Navajo students generally have schools available to them near their homes, this group comes to the school because of severe behavioral difficulties with which family or school has not been able to cope or because of disorganization of the family etc. The Navajos, on the other hand, can be blanketed in under the educational criteria--distance from home to school or lack of appropriate educational facilities on the reservation. Even though some of the Navajos may be sent to the boarding school for social reasons, this criterion need not be used formally because of the validity of the educational criteria.

The effect of the policy on admission to boarding school at Albuquerque is to label the Pueblo, Mescalero, and other non-Navajo children as "welfare cases." Both staff and students tend to project on this group their feelings that the school is deteriorating or that their own tribal group is superior, etc.

FIGURE 7

ACTION TAKEN ON ALL APPLICATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO BOARDING SCHOOLS

Branch of Education
United Pueblos Agency

Authority: 62IAM 205, dated March 2, 1956

"02. Eligibility for Admission

Educational Criteria

☐ 1. Those for whom a public or Federal Day School is not available. Walking distance to school or bus transportation is defined as one mile for elementary children and 1 1/2 miles for high school students.

☐ 2. Those who need special vocational or preparatory courses, not available to them locally, to fit them for gainful employment. Eligibility under this criteria limited to students of High School grades 9 through 12.

☐ 3. Those retarded scholastically three or more years or those having pronounced bilingual difficulties, for whom no provision is made in available schools.

Social Criteria

☐ A. Those who are neglected or rejected for whom no more suitable plan can be made.

☐ B. Those who belong to large families with no suitable home and whose separation from each other is undesirable.

☐ C. Those whose behavior problems are too difficult for solution by their families or through existing community facilities and who can benefit from the controlled enviornment of a boarding school without harming other children.

☐ D. Those whose health or proper care is jeopardized by illness of other members of the household.

Action Taken

☐ I. Satisfies criteria indicated above and application is therefore approved.

☐ II. Information subject to re-examination.

☐ III. Application incomplete

☐ IV. Does not satisfy any criteria and application is disapproved.

_____	_____	_____
Reviewing Official	Title	Date

We have already observed a playing out of these role expectations by the Mescalero group--both boys and girls. Unfortunately most of our information has been secondhand as we have not been in a position to observe systematically interaction between students, and between students and staff. This latter relationship seems particularly significant.

Source of Staff

Each dormitory on the campus has a staff consisting of the Department Head (Guidance Grade 9) all of whom have master's degrees and a Teacher-Advisor Grade 7 who has administrative, disciplinary and counseling responsibilities. There is in addition, with the exception of the smaller dormitory housing the 60 younger boys, a staff of 16 Instructional Aids, Grade 4, and a Supervisory Aid, Grade 5. Each Instructional Aid is assigned to a specific location within a dormitory, having approximately 50 students as his special responsibility. The Aids work in two shifts--one from 6 am and the second from 2 to 10 pm. There is a night attendant in each one of the buildings.

The Instructional Aids are Pueblo Indians, with the exception of three Navajos. Their educational background varies from a 10th grade education to three years of college (Table VIII) with the majority having completed high school. A number of them have additional specialized training beyond high school such as home nursing, beautician training, etc. At least four of them have attended special workshops sponsored by BIA. Turnover has not been high among the Aids. The years in federal service is presented in Table IX. In general AIS has been fortunate in the quality of employees at this level.

However, the fact that most of them are Pueblos in what is now predominantly Navajo school does raise questions concerning their feelings about the changes that have taken place in recent years. As yet the project has no data relation to this issue.

The members of the academic staff are all teachers who hold certificates. The years of service in UPA and prior service outside BIA is shown in Table X. There are two Pueblo Indians on the teaching staff and no Navajo. The project did little systematic work with the academic staff in its first year.

Curricula

The Elementary Program. In the academic year 1963-64 the elementary program was ungraded to facilitate the transition from the Special Navajo Program, which was officially terminated in 1962, to a traditional elementary curriculum. At the time the school roster was made up in November, there were

TABLE VIII

Educational Background of Instructional Aids

Amount	Total
Less than High School	1
Two years of High School	3
Three years of High School	1
High School Graduates	20
High School Graduates & Special Training	7
One year of College	5
Two years of College	7

TABLE IX

Years in Federal Service

Instructional Aids

Years of Federal Service	Number of Instructional Aids
0 - 5 years	11
5 - 10 years	10
10 - 15 years	7
15 - 20 years	7
20 - 25 years	8
25 - 30 years	0
Over 30 years	2
TOTAL	45

TABLE X

Amount and Type of Experience of
Academic Staff

PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPERIENCE	10 & up	0	1	1	0	3	1	0
	5 - 9	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
	1 - 4	2	0	1	0	1	2	1
	None	12	6	7	5	4	3	3
		0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30+

YEARS OF FEDERAL SERVICE

248 Navajos in the ungraded program, 123 girls and 125 boys, and 60 from other tribes. Classes are organized on the basis of age and reading levels on the California Achievement Tests. There were eleven ungraded groups (Figure 8, Roster-AIS 1963-64). One group had children ranging in age from 5 to 10 years, with reading range from 0 to 3. 8. Within each classroom the students are grouped according to performance levels, so that in one classroom there are different groupings by subject.

This program is designed primarily for the development of student to the point where they can enter junior high school or go into the vocational program at 16 years of age. This year there were 53 vocational seniors, who were finishing up their final year of the Special Navajo Program.

There are 12 teachers in the elementary program. The majority of them have many years of service in Bureau schools.

The Regular Program

The regular academic program runs from the 7th to the 12th grade. Band, chorus, art, and vocational subjects are included in the academic program which meets the requirements for a class A high school in the State of New Mexico. All of the 17 teachers in the junior and senior high school are accredited, with about a third of this group having master's degrees. Half of the group have a "master teacher" rating, which is Grade 9 in the federal civil service. This is a merit rating and is based upon the department head's opinion of the teacher's job performance.

The regular graded program has been vocationally oriented to provide opportunities for the development of students in trade-technical fields without jeopardizing their accreditation as high school students. (AIS-1963) However, in 1963-64 ther were no longer terminal voactional students in this program. The goal was to prepare the students for advanced technical training at other institutions, such as Haskell Institute, or to prepare them for college.

Grades 9 through 12 were departmentalized, while the 7th and 8th grades operated in self-contained classrooms. The 7th grade this year was divided upon the basis of the sex of the students, as an experiment.

At the time when the roster was issued in the fall of 1963 there were 461 students in the junior and senior high school, 362 Navajos and 99 from other tribes--67 of these being Pueblos. As in the elementary program, the classes are organized on the basis of reading levels.

Figure 8

Composition of Ungraded Classes

Navajo						Other Tribes					
Groups	Age Range	Reading Range	Boys	Girls	Total	Groups	Age Range	Reading Range	Boys	Girls	Total
I	5-10	.0-3.8	0	3	3	I	5-10	.0-3.8	8	9	17
II	9-12	2.9-5.8	7	3	10	II	9-12	2.9-5.8	8	8	16
III	11-13	1.8-4.0	10	9	19	III	11-13	1.8-4.0	4	2	6
IV	12-13	4.3-6.3	8	7	15	IV	12-13	4.3-6.3	7	5	12
V	13-14	1.9-4.3	13	8	21	V	13-14	1.9-4.3	1	2	3
VI	13-15	4.2-6.5	0	22	22	VI	13-15	4.2-6.5	0	4	4
VII	13-15	3.6-6.7	21	0	21	VII	13-15	3.6-6.7	1	0	1
VIII	15	1.8-5.3	10	13	23	VIII	15	1.8-5.3	0	0	0
IX	16+	2.7-4.7	15	16	31	IX	16	2.7-4.7	0	0	0
X	16+	4.5-6.1	16	14	30	X	16	4.5-6.1	0	1	1
Jr. Voc.			3	12	15	Vocational Senior			0	1	1
Sr. Voc.			20	18	38						
TOTAL			123	125	248				29	31	60

The Bordertown Program.

The BIA Branch of Education contracts with the Albuquerque Public School system for 350 Navajo children. In 1963-64 the 336 enrolled in this program attended three elementary schools, five junior high schools and three senior high schools. The grade with the heaviest enrollment was Grade 8, (Tables IV & V--AIS Bordertown Enrollment Recapitulation 1963-64). The Bordertown students are housed on the AIS campus, as described above. This year all senior students in the regular program were also housed in the Bordertown dormitories because the public school program did not expand as anticipated. At the beginning of the school year there were 111 boarding school students in the two Bordertown dormitories.

Vocational Programs

The home economics program strives to develop knowledge of food, its preparation, serving and function in the body; of clothing construction and care; of child development and family life. The goal is to prepare the students to function successfully as homemakers and consumers. There were 30 Navajo girls finishing up terminal vocational work in waitress training and home service. As part of this program a coffee shop in which the girls get waitress training is operated for the staff. There are seven home economics teachers.

The boys' vocational training program includes cabinetmaking, machine shop, mechanical drawing, electricity, driver education, and service station operation. The program aims at helping boys to become familiar with tools and equipment and to get some practice in various vocational areas. Under the vocational shop program the students spend a half day daily in the specialized shop of their choice. The Albuquerque Indian School no longer is offering a vocational major. These Navajo seniors who started in on the Special Navajo Program are getting on-the-job training. Those students now entering the program get a basic introduction to an area of vocational interests which they will pursue more fully at a technical institute. Courses are also offered to seniors in the regular program to give them some general knowledge of tools and construction methods.

Extra-Curricular Activities

In addition to the formal curricula, there are school-sponsored extra-curricular activities. These include student council, interscholastic sports football, basketball, baseball, with other secondary schools of similar size, cheerleaders club, Key club, and Indian Club, and drama club--the latter carrying academic credit. There are no scouting or 4-H groups on campus.

The recreation department maintains a center where students can check out equipment. Various intramural recreation activities are sponsored and supervised by the two-member staff. A student canteen operates briefly each day, and a student bank is maintained.

Religious Activities

A campus church was functional until 1961 when it was discontinued because of duplication of activities of the several churches. The school has no one on the staff charged with the responsibility for religious education, but it does provide office space to a Coordinator of Religious Activities, who is paid by the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches and whose function it is to coordinate all religious activities which take place on the school campus. The application signed by the parent or legal guardian includes a statement of the parent's wish regarding church affiliation of the student (Item 22). This information is collated by the religious coordinator and transmitted to the various churches, with lists also provided to each dormitory. A group of pastors meets monthly to plan special activities and discuss areas of interest.

Guidance Program

The school counseling services were organized in their present form, mentioned briefly above, in 1959--the year when the Bordertown program was added to the curricula. One building on the quadrangle was designated the Gudiance Center and now houses the Director of Guidance, the two school counselors, the two recreational leaders, the religious coordinator, and as of this year, the Highlands Project staff. AIS is the only BIA school having a guidance staff separate from the dormitories with counselors having no responsibility for staff supervision. This type of organization was devised for the Albuquerque School because of the diversity of programs at the institution--Bordertown, the Special Navajo Program, Vocational and academic. The general goal of the guidance services of the school "is to provide a Guidance Program which will assist each student to develop, according to his potential, into a well-adjusted, healthy, and contributing member of his society." (AIS Information Bulletin 1962-63) To this end the two professional counselors, both state certified, provide "both individual and small group counseling to assist each student in making realistic appraisals in solving their personal problems, in selecting occupational goals, and in planning educational programs which will enable them to reach these goals." (Ibid.) During the academic year each of the counselors meets with the 9th grade students in classes on vocational opportunities, requirements, and preparation. The program is oriented toward assisting the students in making plans for the future.

Adjustment problems of the students are considered to be the primary responsibility of the dormitory staff. In recognition of this point of view, the Bureau in 1960 changed the job classification of dormitory personnel from Dormitory Attendant to Instructional Aid (Child Guidance). This action placed the job position in the professional series, making job incumbents eligible for educational leave and thus acknowledging the need for special training.

The Instructional Aids of all the school staff are those who have the most intimate contact with the students. They are charged with responsibility for providing "individual and group counseling and guidance to pupils covering such matters as adjustment to school... attitudes of democracy... self-control, homesickness and discipline." (Job Description) The aids are not only responsible for concern with the "needs and welfare of the pupil" but are also responsible for "maintaining proper discipline in the dormitory..." as well as planning recreation activities, supervising student work, administering first aid, maintaining quiet study hours, conducting fire drills, and performing "miscellaneous housekeeping duties, such as mopping dusting, sewing, etc.

III. METHOD

Preparatory Steps

The foregoing descriptive information concerning the organization of the BIA and the school setting has been included in the present report because it has had a definite influence upon the manner in which the project team has operated. It is also important to indicate something of the nature of the relationships between AIS and Highlands University at the time the project proposal was approved. Most of the preliminary work had been conducted at the Santa Fe School, though some of the early planning had taken place in Albuquerque. Most of the visiting consultants obtained during the developmental stages toured AIS and met some of the staff. However, no pilot program had been conducted at AIS prior to the award of the current grant.

As soon as it was evident that the Santa Fe School would not be involved in the program, the basis for a working relationship was established with the Director of Schools, UPA, Principal of AIS, and Director of Guidance, AIS. In addition some contacts were made with the dormitory staffs, Department Heads and Teacher-Advisers. Virtually no contacts had been made with the academic staff or with the Instructional Aids. It would be fair to say that the majority of the school staff had little acquaintanceship with the project before it began, though almost certainly some knowledge of Highlands' activities was informally connumicated at most levels of the school organization.

This, then, describes the situation as it existed at the time the proposal was submitted: cooperation was assured; the contours of the program were agreed upon; both AIS officials and the Highlands staff felt that the program could be successfully introduced. However, many details were left to be worked out at a later time. As long as there was some doubt that the proposal would be favorably acted upon, few steps involving a commitment to the program could be taken.

NIMH approval of the grant was received in December 1962. The original beginning date was March 1963, but a request that this date be delayed was granted, so the formal beginning of the project was September 1, 1963. The interim period between January and September was used for the recruitment of the full time project staff, and acquiring a psychiatric consultant. Several meetings were held with the administration of the school and the Director of Schools of UPA in order to reach agreement on some of the details of administering the project and to determine at least partially what the initial steps for the project would be. In effect, a project committee was established consisting of the Director of Schools for UPA, the Principal of the Albuquerque Indian School, the Director of Guidance for the Indian school, and two members of the Psychology Department of Highlands University, the co-directors of the project. This committee reached a consensus on the following points: a) It was agreed that this committee would meet and act on those matters which seemed to call for it. Otherwise communication would be carried out on a relatively informal basis. b) The Highlands staff agreed that the project would confer with the necessary administrative officials if any question ever arose concerning the activities of the project; on the other hand the project's team would be relatively free to carry out those activities which seemed to be appropriate for the project to undertake. c) The Director of Schools for UPA left most matters concerning the project to the Principal of the Albuquerque Indian School. Thus administrative support was given to the project by UPA, but the primary responsibility for the activities at the school were left to the Principal. In turn the Principal suggested that the work be done with the Guidance Department, and thus delegated to the Director of Guidance the primary responsibility for working with the project team.

Initially there appeared to be some apprehensiveness on the part of the school officials that the project would attempt to interfere with the normal administrative decisions of the school. It was resolved by the Highlands staff that a great deal of effort would be made to show by our activities that there was no intent on the part of the project to supersede the normal functions of the school, but rather to supplement them. Verbal assurances were not completely adequate, and so some of the early principles to be followed by the project team were formulated by this point. It was also evident that researchers who previously had been premitted to conduct their studies at the school had not

always been considerate of the problems of the school so that in addition to being apprehensive as far as the project was concerned, part of the ambivalence stemmed from past experience with other researchers.

During these meetings other details such as the following were handled: a) office space was provided for the project team on the third floor of the Guidance Building; two offices were made available on the same floor with the religious co-ordinator; b) it was agreed that all secretarial work would be done on the Highlands campus because of the limited space available at AIS. c) It was agreed that Highlands would retain primary responsibility for the project, so that all decisions connected with the project, having no direct effect upon the school itself, would be decisions made by the Highlands staff.

Recruitment of full time staff was also carried out during this period, and it was a policy that any applicant who was seriously being considered for a position would visit AIS and would meet with the school officials.

During the late spring some meetings were held between the Highlands staff and the unattached counselors because at this time it was felt that considerable work of the project would involve these two people. As it turned out, this anticipation was not borne out, and most of the work of the project during the first year was done with the dormitory people.

Beginnings of the Project

The timetable for the project called for a relatively extended orientation period for the project staff. In practice this proved to be unnecessary despite the fact that the full time members of the project team were relatively unfamiliar with AIS. Mrs. May J. Harrover, ACSW, had been in New Mexico previously and had worked for the Welfare Department in the Taos area; thus she was familiar with some of the professional people in the state and knew something of the general cultural background within which the project was taking place. Thus her orientation was largely restricted to finding out more about the actual school setting.

Dr. John Rohrer, the psychologist on the project team, had had a considerable amount of experience with projects of this general type. Also he was familiar with the Indian culture in somewhat general terms. Because he was able to report to the Highlands campus on the first of July, he was able to do considerable reading on the background of the project. Consequently, he too needed only a general orientation to the school setting.

At one of the meetings with the AIS staff in the spring it had been suggested that if at all possible the project team should attend the workshop program that was held every year for the entire staff of the school. This program generally took place the week prior to the formal opening of the school. As the time for the workshop approached, the Principal of AIS urged more strongly that the project team attend. This seemed like an excellent way to make initial contacts with the people at the school, and so it was agreed that the project team would attend the workshop meetings. This was possible because both Mrs. Harrover and Dr. Rohrer were available at this time. At first it was thought that considerable time during the workshop would be devoted to a presentation of the project; however, there was only time to introduce the project staff to the school staff, and to indicate briefly the nature of the project. The rest of the time was devoted to the regular business of the workshop.

During the orientation week, there were several meetings of the guidance staff which were attended by the project team. This gave Mrs. Harrover and Dr. Rohrer more opportunity to meet with various people with whom they would be working closely during the coming year. At the meeting of the guidance staff, time was provided for an explanation of the project. Briefly it was indicated that the research program was directed toward discovering how the youngesters went about achieving emotional maturity. There was particular interest in a boarding school situation because it added the additional stress not only of a new environment, but also of separation from the parents. It was indicated that the staff of the Psychology Department at Highlands was available and that the project had as a consultant to it Dr. Sears, a psychiatrist. It was emphasized that in no way did the project desire to interfere with the ongoing day by day operations of the school, nor did it want to usurp any of the functions of the teacher guidance people, the counselors, or the consultant that the school had who is a clinical psychologist in Albuquerque. It was indicated, however, that the project team was available for help should it be requested and that there would be only one restriction placed upon availability of this help. This restriction was that a case conference on the students who were referred would be held so that there would be communication back to the person making the referral. The purpose of this staff conference was to be able to describe some of the team's observations and by so doing help to arrive at decisions. It was emphasized, however, that no decisions would be made for them. A particular point was made to explain that while we were aware that there were some children with problems in this school, the project was also aware that some of the students were quite successful in achieving emotional maturity. It was pointed out that we were equally interested in those groups that were successful, and that we were not necessarily looking only for pathological cases. This same general theme for the project was reiterated on an individual basis whenever the project team was asked to do so.

During the orientation week, and actually in the several weeks that followed, much of the project team's time was taken in going around to the various buildings on the campus and meeting members of the staff who were there; thus, a lot of time was spent in making face to face contacts with the members of school staff. For the most part this was not systematically done; Dr. Rohrer and Mrs. Harrover followed their own intuitions in making these original contacts. Gradually the project team was accepted as part of the scene at the school.

In addition to meeting members of the school staff, some effort was also made to make contact with other branches of the United Pueblo Agency. Dr. Rohrer went to the Medical Clinic and made the first contact there with the doctor and the nurse; later on he introduced Mrs. Harrover to the medical staff. When it became evident that medical records would be important to the project, a more formalized meeting was held at the Area Office of the Public Health Service at which the Director of the Indian Health, Dr. McIntyre, and the Principal of the Albuquerque Indian School, and the project team met to discuss the feasibility of having medical records available to the project. Excellent cooperation was obtained at this meeting. This has been true during the entire year. Mrs. Harrover was able to meet a number of social workers who worked with UPA Welfare and with the Bureau of Indian Affairs Welfare. Gradually over the course of the year Mrs. Harrover has met many of the professional people who deal with the families of some of the children at the school.

It was also during the orientation week that the boys' counselor asked Dr. Rohere if he would like to go with him on the bus to pick up some of the students. The students are transported from the reservation to the school by buses. Usually members of the school staff go out to the reservation with the bus and chaperon the students on the way back. It was on such a trip that Dr. Rohrer was invited to go. It afforded him an excellent opportunity to see the children leaving their families and to observe them on the trip back to the school. The project team was also present during the unloading of the buses and the assigning of the students to dormitories. This was done in the gymnasium.

The first case to be referred to the project staff was from the girls' dormitory. This occurred during the first week of school. The director of the girls' dorm had a masters degree in clinical psychology and thus was somewhat more sensitive to emotional disturbances among the children than some of the other school people. In addition she identified quite closely with the professional status of the project team, and thus, it is not surprising that the first referral came from her. The handling of this particular case is illustrative. It was a girl who had had psychiatric treatment under the auspices of the Public Health Service. Basically the role of the project team in this instance was to coordinate the reports of the Public Health Service which were available to the school and

to see that the dormitory people had the information. The project team was also instrumental in setting up a case conference which was attended by the people at the the school and was conducted by the consulting psychiatrist and psychologist who were under contract by the Public Health Service. Consequently the role of the project in this particular case was primarily one of coordinating the skills and efforts of the various people involved without actually doing any handling of the case itself.

Gradually relationships between various members of the school staff and the project team developed. It usually did not take many contacts before the school staff began to talk about some of the problem students as well as some of their difficulties in handling them. This was the beginning. At the same time the project team was becoming more and more familiar with the operation of the school. Various types of activities in which the project should engage itself became apparent. Actually this was an ongoing process which continued throughout the year. A summary of project activities as they evolved is given below:

a) Serve as liaison and extra channel of communication between various units of the school;

b) Held regular meetings with dormitory aids which led to an in-service training program;

c) Conduct case conferences held for certain selected referred cases;

d) Consult on individual cases with department heads;

e) Explore resources outside school setting;

f) Collect some basic data both as a by-product of other activities, and as a specialized activity;

g) Study the life space more completely by collecting social histories in the field.

Further description of these activities is given in the Interim Report (Appendix I). This report was prepared at the request of the Principal of AIS and was made available to the school staff.

Guiding Principles

It does not seem that any purpose as far as the present report is concerned would be served by a detailed account of the manner in which each of the activities of the project team were started. However, there may be some value in presenting

some of the principles which guided the general approach of the team. No claim is made for the uniqueness of these principles, nor can it be said that all of them were formulated explicitly at the beginning. Some of them were; others grew out of experience gained working in the school setting. It is not certain how effective these principles would operate in other settings. Moreover, it is also possible that other principles might have worked as well or even better.

Early experience at the Santa Fe School suggested the following as offering a good working basis:

a) The project should maintain a clear identification with the University.

b) The functions and duties of the school staff would not be assumed by the project.

c) The project would work within the framework of the school's present policy.

d) Work of the project at the school would be conducted with a minimum identification with the school administration.

e) Every effort would be made to minimize resistance and threat.

f) At least initially, activities of the project would be service oriented.

Some of these points deserve further discussion. Maintaining identification with the University was actually a means of preserving relative neutrality of the project. The major benefit to be derived from this was that it facilitated working with the school administration. In a general way, at least, it made the relation of the project to the school clear. It also made it possible to operate under some of the other principles. Later discussion will serve to clarify this point. From the very beginning, it was anticipated that ultimately some kind of contact would have to be made with tribal leaders. It seemed that a clear association with the University would offer some advantages in such contacts. In any case it appeared to give the project a more flexible position than otherwise. The fact that most people at the school refer to it as the Highlands' project indicates that the University affiliation is well known.

The first case referral mentioned above reflects the principle of not assuming functions of the staff. Generally case conferences have resulted in suggesting how the staff might help in the normal course of carrying out their duties. Few direct services have been given unless requested and, then, only if it serves a demonstration or research purpose as well. The operation of this principle has had some interesting consequences. Initially there were some

attempts to refer the most difficult cases to the project. Presumably if these had been accepted and services rendered, the school staff would have been able to shift some of their own responsibilities to the project. Furthermore, other kinds of help which the project might try to give to the staff would be minimized and avoided. The impression of the team was that it would be difficult to modify this role if it ever got established.

Working in the framework of the school policy seems like an obvious point. Nevertheless temptations do arise that are difficult to resist. There have been occasions when there might have been a desire to intercede in behalf of a student who was to be expelled. At times the team has been requested to make recommendations concerning policy by members of school staff. This has not been done. There was a suggestion during the first meetings with the school administrators that they were expecting some interference. Failure to confirm the expectation seems to have worked to advantage of the project. Now after a year, the administration is asking for appraisals of individual cases prior to administrative action. Gradually the consultant role is getting defined and established.

Basically the interest of the project is in the students at the school. This then is an interest in common with that of the staff. Working closely with them is facilitated by minimizing association with the school administration, although it is clear that administration is supporting the project and cooperating with it. The project is not perceived as part of the administration. Working with the staff on this basis is both feasible and productive because each staff member has some autonomy in working with students. Job descriptions may specify duties and responsibilities, but not necessarily how they are carried out. In addition focusing on a common interest in the students helps in developing a cooperative relationship.

Comment has already been made concerning the reservations with which the school officials viewed the possibility of a research project during the early developments and prior to the submission of the proposal. It is not surprising to discover similiar attitudes among the staff. Only by their actions could the project team show its intentions. Unnecessary conflicts have been avoided. An example will clarify the point. It was originally planned to administer a biographical questionnaire to all the students at the beginning of the school year. Resistance to this developed, and the plan was dropped after administering the forms in the boys' dormitory. A similar situation arose in connection with some forms which were to be given to the Instructional Aids. Again no issue was made, the reward was greater cooperation. The difficulty with this principle is that some issues need clarification and some conflicts are unavoidable. The problem really is to decide when and what issues are crucial to the project. Orienting the project toward service is related to the above point. Generally service was a better basis for establishing relations with the staff

than research per se. However, there was some variation in attitudes. Some people were less threatened by thinking of the project as research, and thus quite removed from their sphere of activities. Others were more approachable on a service basis, largely because it was consistent with their self interest and also because it was something with which they could be familiar.

Once the project team was located at AIS, other principles came out of the operation. Some of these were necessitated by the characteristics of the setting while others were serendipitous. These may be enumerated as follows:

a) Actual role of the project was relatively unstructured. A definition of the project developed gradually as it progressed.

b) Relation to school staff developed largely by face to face informal contacts.

c) Activities of the team were those requested by the staff, though some effort was made to assure that some requests were made.

d) Once the project team was contracted in regard to some matter, care was taken to specify what the project would or would not do. Reports, mostly verbal, were constantly made.

e) Professional identity proved useful as a means of communicating across organizational lines.

A number of factors made the project's role at the beginning an ambiguous one. The idea of such a program was quite unfamiliar to the staff, particularly since it came from outside the BIA. The time given for a formal presentation of the project was too short for a detailed presentation, though there is some doubt that a more comprehensive introduction would have been effective. Besides, there was a delemma that if a program were presented, how could one then honestly ask what the program should be? Despite its disadvantages, the ambiguity did have some beneficial effects. It forced the project team and the school staff to work out a program together. The very ambiguity led to questions, which in turn led to suggestions. In some instances there was a kind of testing of limits. Would the project do thus and so? Then, too, it afforded a flexibility which permitted the project to engage in a variety of activities for a variety of people. The project was not just an in-service training program for the Aids, and not just another repository for difficult cases, etc. Working through this stage actually permitted more meaningful relations to be established with the school.

The reliance upon individual and hence somewhat personalized contacts was partly accidental and partly anticipated. This had seemed to be an important factor in the early work at the Santa Fe School. The points made in the preceding paragraph certainly contributed to it. In addition the physical separation as well as the organizational isolation of various units at the school made it almost a necessity. This was particularly true of groups such as Aids. This last factor had another consequence which should be mentioned here. A mistake made with one person or unit did not necessarily have detrimental effects elsewhere. This approach did lead to a varied program, but it also restricted it to those units with which relationships could be established. For example, during the first year of the project, relatively few contacts were made with the academic staff.

By and large it was the intent of the team to be "non-directive" as far as the actual course the program would take was concerned. Nevertheless it was not feasible to be completely passive and wait for requests or referrals. What can be said is that activities undertaken by the project were outcomes of interactions with individuals on the staff which represented a consensus at the time. The manner in which the first meeting with the Aids came about is instructive. The following is abstracted from the logs dated September 18, 1963. Mrs. Harrover is reporting a conversation with the head of the girls dormitory. The case conference described on pages 37 and 38 was held prior to this conversation.

> "...I talked about the possibility of getting together the several staff people who were concerned sincerely about the girl who is currently under psychiatric treatment on a once-a-week basis, informing Miss L that our group had talked with the Doctor in the clinic yesterday. This suggestion met with immediate resistance on Miss L's part..I was impressed with the interest and desire to help the girl which was evidenced. I said further that there seemed to be a lack of communication between these various interested persons, all of whom were dealing with the situation in same capacity, and I just thought it might be helpful to all concerned to sit down informally and pool information about the case.
>
> "...I remarked that I was impressed with the multiple responsibilities of her job--that she had not only a concern for the disturbed girl, but also the responsibility to the group, who were undoubtedly upset by all the commotion about the disturbed girl. This got us into a discussion of the role of dormitory personnel as parent surrogates--a role which Miss L stresses

with her staff. Apparently she has done some educational work of some kind with them on their function to the teenagers as models for identification.

This issue of in-service-staff-training seems to be of special interest to Miss L. I gathered that she was not able to interest her people in taking educational leave to attend a summer workshop, and that she was disappointed because Dr. Alan Roberts was not available to carry through a program on normal child development which she had discussed with him... Miss L thought that a summer workshop was really the most satisfactory because all the staff were then together as a group, but she suggested tht we might start now with a smaller group. Taking the roster of dormitory personnel, she thoughtfully allocated them to three different groups based upon their level of awareness of emotional problems in children and their interest in learning more about such problems...

Although this training idea is dear to Miss L, I wondered whether it was something which her staff wanted. She seems to recognize that some of them are not really interested in learning and some of them are eager to become more informed. I said that I thought we would be sure to fail if this were imposed upon the group and handled in a pedagogical manner of a formal seminar. Miss L agreed with me heartily...

September 20, 1964

Miss L had checked with some of the dormitory personnel about meeting with us, and they had been willing to give it a try. While we were in her office, one of the Aids reported that she had talked with some of the other staff members who were also interested. There would be two groups of six persons each available on Tuesday and Thursday at 2 p. m. They are accustomed to meetings in one of the lounges, and there are facilities for making coffee. Miss L stressed the advisability of creating an informal atmosphere. Dr. Rohrer stated that it should be understood that we are not staff members and that whatever goes on in these meetings will be confidential. Also, we are not attempting to pry into secrets or to analyze people. Miss L laughed more spontaneously than usual and said that these were important things to stress with these groups. It seems that one of her dormitory people had said to her that I made her uncomfortable--"I feel she is trying to analyze me."

We agreed to start the discussions with the Thursday group on September 26...

Making certain that the activities of the project were known to those who initiated them is an obvious point. However, this was a common criticism made of previous researchers; it was resolved not to make the same mistake. It was even more important to the project because of its ambiguity. Stating explicitly what would and what would not be done and then reporting on it was one way in which the project's role gradually became defined. In addition this was an integral part of one of our objectives, namely to establish lines of communication.

It became clear quite early that the project would have to make contact with a number of organizations outside the school. This was made easier through professional identification. The project social worker has contacted social workers in the Welfare division as well as one at the Indian Hospital. The psychiatric consultant made easier the contact with the Public Health Service. In all instances the association of the project with the school aided in establishing relationships with other divisions within the BIA.

If there has been a method, the above principles have been the core of it. There may be others which have escaped awareness. It is even possible that these have had little to do with the actual course of the project, though this is difficult to believe. It is a slow way to work. There are frustrations to say the least. Should this report give the impression that this has been easy, or flawless, it is incorrect; it has been neither.

IV. PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

This section of the report is necessarily tentative. It covers the types of mental health problems observed, something of the project team's attempts to cope with them, and some preliminary conclusions. All of the data accumulated during the year have not been analyzed as yet. The present report is based upon partial analyses of selected portions of the data. Much of the material has been obtained by reviewing records of case conferences, meetings with Instructional Aids, etc. as well as checking impressions against the daily logs of the project team.

Although it was not the intent of the project team to undertake a great deal of individual case work, talking about particular students seemed to be a good approach to becoming acquainted with the staff. Inevitably the project was asked to help out with a student. A review of such requests over the year is indicative of how the project team became accepted at the school and of the types of concerns which the staff had.

There were 35 cases which could be called referrals. The sources and rates of referrals are associated with other activities of the team. There was only one such referral in September, two in October, and five in November. The number held fairly constant from November through May and dropped to one in June, the end of school.

All of the early referrals came from the head of the girls' dormitory. She held a masters degree in psychology and seemed to identify with the project professionally in its early stages. The meetings with the Aids in the girls' dormitory began in November, and four of the five cases referred in that month came from the girls dorm, two from the Head and two from the Aids. The other referral in November came from the boys' counselor. In December there was an interest in the problems of the overage boys and three such cases were referred by the Bordertown dormitory. The boys' dormitory began making referrals in March. The remainder of the year showed a distribution of referrals from the three dormitories. Only two teachers made referrals during the year. They made four. This is a reflection of the concentration of the project upon the dormitories rather than a reluctance of the staff to participate, however, the Head of Guidance made one.

The nature of the cases brought to the attention of the project is illuminating. The first few all showed relatively severe psychiatric symptoms and most had psychiatric histories. One of these has already been described. (pages 37 and 38) These were cases which were spotted by a dormitory head who had had some psychological training and which were acknowledged to be too severe to be dealt with by the staff. The Aids tended to refer cases which created distrubances in the dormitory and which defied efforts of the Aids to control them. One, for example, was mentioned for "passing a dirty note." Drinking, AWOL, and defiant behavior was the major problem cited for the overage boys. In April there were three students which had difficulties with law enforcing agencies.

There is an interesting aspect of all these referrals. Hardly any of them were the result of a self-referral on the part of the student. That is to say the usual pattern seemed to be that a staff member observed certain behavior and was sufficiently concerned about it to make a referral. Rarely did a student go voluntarily to a staff member for help. This is not surprising in view of the types of problems referred. However, it may also be characteristic of this population. The results of a questionnaire filled out by the students in the boys' dormitory at the beginning of the year bear out this point. In answer to the question, "who would you go to with a problem?" the responses were as follows:

School Total	68
Administrators	5
Dormitory Administrators	18
Dormitory Aids	22
Teachers	6
Counselors	17
Family	60
Peers	1
Others	10
No answer	91
Total	230

The review of these referrals can be summarized as follows:

a) The first cases were those which clearly needed some type of psychiatric attention that the school was unable to give.

b) The Aids at the beginning referred cases which caused difficulty by violating rules, but which did not justify major disciplinary action.

c) Later the Aids referred cases showing a greater variety of behavior such as "inability to settle down," carrying a weapon, adjustment to being crippled, bed wetting, etc.

d) Behavior involving major infractions of the rules were not referred unless the routine disciplinary actions failed. In some cases the referrals were made too late for the project to help because the students left the school.

The action taken by the project on these cases varied. However, in no instance did the project team engage in direct treatment. More or less complete diagnostic work ups were done on about ten cases, some counseling was done on about five others. The remainder were handled primarily by consulting with the source and collecting available information from various school records. Excerpts of case file are given in Appendix II.

The material gathered on individual cases was also used in the meetings with the Instructional Aids. One case in particular was of general interest to the school. This was a Mescalero girl who has created a lot of trouble in the dormitory. It was decided to have a case conference on this girl because of its general interest and because it seemed appropriate to try to involve some of the administrators in the program. It was hoped that by so doing some of the attitudes toward

a mental health orientation might be modified. Unfortunately no success can be claimed for the conference as such. Most of the staff felt that there was little information given that was not already known, and no concrete suggestions of how the girl might be better handled were made. However, the conference may have had some value because it demonstrated to the administration the interest of the staff in such cases and gave additional appreciation of the complexities involved. The project team also learned that the makeup of the conferences would have to be consistent with a single objective. Part of the difficulty with this conference was that it was partly a demonstration for the administration and partly an effort to help the staff in dealing with the girl. Some of the conferences held later proved somewhat more successful.

As the work of the project team progressed, it became apparent that there were rather formidable obstacles to communication about a student. One is that each agency involved has its own channels of communication and significant information about a student does not routinely get to the staff members dealing with the student. A dramatic incident illustrative of this situation occurred when the project staff first arrived on the campus. In the girls dormitory was a student who made repeated suicidal gestures. Exploration by the project of the records in the administrative office, and discussion with the clinic at the school, turned up reports of the girl's hospitalization in the summer after a suicide attempt, and her continuing psychiatric treatment. In this situation, a more successful case conference was held with the psychiatrist who was treating the girl, and the dormitory head and other guidance staff people, with the result that an arrangement was worked for weekly reports to the psychiatrist from the dormitory, adequate supervision of medication, and reports back to the dormitory thru the school clinic. This is the same case mentioned earlier in this report. (page 37 and 38)

Even within the Bureau, communication is made cumbersome by the formal organizational structure and the physical distances involved. For example, a communication from the Albuquerque School to a student's former school on the Navajo Reservation is channelled first of all through the Principal of AIS, from him to the Director of Schools in the United Pueblo Agency across the street; from his office to th t of the UPA Agency Superintendent and from there to the office of the superintendent of the Area Office in Gallup. From this point the communication is routed through the Assistant Area Director of Schools to the particular school on the reservation. In emergency stiuations, however, a telephone call can be made by the Principal of AIS to the reservation school or subagency.

In the school itself all communication is channelled through the Principal. The Branch of Welfare sends the social summary which it prepares on all students who apply for admission under the social criteria to the Principal, together with the application form. Significant medical history on a student travels from the

doctor in the field clinic to the Medical Director at the field clinic on the campus of the school. Here it remains a part of the individual's medical record in the clinic. Any specific information, either from pre-AIS schools records, or from the physical examination given new students, which affects the individual's participation in athletics or recreation, or requires absence from the campus for treatment, is communicated to the school by a separate report to the Principal.

We have the impression that a considerable amount of information on a student remains in the records in the administration office. One obvious reason for this is the impossibility of assigning students to dormitories or classes before the arrival of the students on the campus. Too often information which would help staff in understanding a student is filed unused or reaches the school several months after school has begun.

There appears to be a considerable isolation of one program from another, and from one dormitory to another. The teachers do not meet together to discuss common school problems, nor are there regular meetings of the Department Heads of the several academic programs. This situation seems to be more characteristic of the academic program than of the guidance program. In the latter, the Heads of all dormitories meet weekly with the Director of Guidance, and the two counselors. In addition, the Director of Guidance circulates about the campus daily, unobtrusively but observantly, thus being accessible to the staff.

Because of the civil service hierarchy, there seems to be an extreme grade classification consciousness which works against free communication about a student. The staff person in the guidance program--the Instructional Aid in the dormitory--has no opportunity to consult with a teacher so that there is no school-parent relationship here.

In addition to the school and Bureau situation, a severe block to communication with parents exists because of the remoteness of the Navajo Reservation particularly. This works a hardship on both parents and students.

One of the problems with which the project team has had to cope is the strong emphasis on rules, and the resultant tendency to view symptomatic behavior in disciplinary terms. One approach taken to this has been not to stress individual symptomatology, but rather to select for study and discussion, behavior which is indicative of a similar conflict. For example, one of the prevalent problems is that of drinking by the older boys. Three conferences were held with the staff of the dormitory most concerned, with the project's psychiatrist leading the discussion. Although a specific student had been studied, and the project

group was prepared to talk about him specifically, the group became immediately interested in the problem rather than the individual to the point where the group requested additional conferences on the same topic. The difficulty with this type of discussion with critical emphasis on the rules of the institution is that it can result in increasing the frustration of the staff. There is then a dilemma of our own brought about by our commitment to work wiithin the policy of the school. In an attempt to deal with this situation the project in its second year is working in an organized fashion with the Department Heads of the dormitories and the Teacher-Advisors who have the authority to make at least some changes within a dormitory.

As a result of regular meetings with groups of Instructional Aids, we noted that in the spring the type of referral which we received involved students who were not already in so much trouble with staff that they were on their way out, but more students whose behavior might lead to trouble.

Another observation is that there is staff anxiety about increasing aggressiveness of the students. Every staff person, from the Director of the Branch of Education in Washington, to the Principal of the school and teachers report that today's students are different from those who came to school ten years ago. The essential difference appears to be an increased aggressiveness so that the students talk more freely with the staff, associate with the public school students more comfortably, and speak up in class. Generally they are less docile. The school tends to react with increased repressiveness and inflexibility. At the same time the students themselves are being encouraged by their tribal leaders, and by some of the parents, to be more and more aggressive. The student, therefore, is caught in a oonflict. If he submits to increasingly repressive discipline and rules, he is devalued, and if he resists authority, he is in trouble at the school. One of the most serious problems at the school is the loss during the school year of those students who appear to be intelligent, aggressive and most likely to be future tribal leaders. In several instances these students are doing well scholastically, so that the academic department wants to keep them in school. In other words, they are rewarded for aggression which is channelled into intellectual achievement. Yet these same students most often rebel against rules which treat 20-year olds and 6-year olds alike, and thereby come into conflict with the guidance department. Teachers are also affected. One usually placid teacher found herself exploding in rage and striking a boy in her class who persisted in tipping back in his chair.

The Instructional Aids, the majority of whom are middle-aged women, seem to attempt to control students by giving orders and withholding privileges as punishment. Some of these in the groups with which the project has been working show considerable resistance to a non-authoritarian approach, especially one

which deals with feelings and unconscious motivation. This resistance may be attributable in part to a desire to follow old ways and to simplify by rules, but there is also a suggestion that anxiety is aroused by an awareness of feelings. This was illustrated at a meeting with a dormitory group in which we were discussing a boy who carried sharp objects in his pockets. In the discussion members of the group, drawing entirely on their own knowledge and not on any information which had been given to them from the records, saw the behavior of another boy as indicative of the same underlying feelings of insecurity. This "insight" was most disturbing to one member of the group.

Another unique characteristic of this setting which affects interpersonal relationships is the grouping together of tribes which have historical antagonisms. AIS was established originally as an educational institution for the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, as was the Santa Fe School. Because of geographical proximity of the school to several of the Pueblos, the dormitory staff is predominantly Pueblo. There are, in fact, only three Navajos in the entire group of Instructional Aids. The student population, however, now is 80 per cent Navajo and 20 per cent Pueblo. This shift has occurred because of the availability of new day schools and public schools for Pueblo Indian boys and girls. Those Pueblos who do enroll at AIS are here under a stigma. They come under the Bureau's social criteria. So a Pueblo student is in an indirect way labeled as a problem. There is a tendency for staff and students to expect behavioral problems in this group.

It is interesting to speculate about the interaction between the Pueblo Instructional Aids and students with the same or different tribal affiliation but no conclusive data have been collected on this as yet. We hope to discover whether a staff member can tolerate more or less flaunting of rules from a student of the same tribe as the Aid. Also, we would like to understand the feelings of the staff about the identification of the Pueblo students as a group with special problems, in terms of their own feelings about themselves as Pueblos.

Several incidents came to the project staff's attention this year indicating tensions between students based on tribal identifications. For example, a Navajo senior who was transferred from Rio Grande Dormitory to the Bordertown Dormitory refused to stay there when he discovered that his three roommates were Pueblo boys. A Mescalero Apache girl told us of being condemned by the Mescalero girls because she made friends with Navajo girls.

In addition to tribal rivalries, the project staff observed evidence of sibling rivalry feelings in some of the dormitory personnel as well as in the students. In the weekly group meetings with Instructional Aids, some of them expressed their discomfort about talking with an individual student because the other students in the same dormitory living group then accuse the staff member of favoritism and not liking them.

The project team has observed directly a negative reaction by some dormitory Aids to indications of dependency needs in the younger children and interpert at least some of this reaction to the Aids' own problems of unmet dependency needs. Fortunately, there is enough variation among the Aids in this respect so that one individual can be found who can be encouraged to relate to a particular child in a helpful way.

The project has observed also rivalries of students in the different programs in the school. The public school students in the Bordertown program have the highest social status. They appear to be caught in a conflict about identification and to be unable to accept both the non-Indian public school culture and the Indian school culture. It seemed during this year that the boarding school was involved in the same conflict. For example, the Bordertown students were required unwillingly to attend an all-school meeting for the election of student council officers and then were denied the right to vote.

Public school boys and girls have been observed wearing public school sweatshirts, indicating their allegiance to the school which they attend. Several of the boys are members of public school athletic teams and, in such capacity, come face to face with the boarding school team in a rivalry situation.

There are indications that the Bordertown students, who are all Navajo, avoid the Navajo students in the regular boarding school program. Each Christmas vacation a group of students remain on campus. It was reported to us that the Bordertown girls rejected an invitation to a Christmas party given by the girls in the regular program.

The project team has also observed a reluctance on the part of the Bordertown girls to attend dormitory dances, and when they do attend, the girls tend to dance with each other rather than with the boys, a situation which is not tolerated by the staff.

It may be that this conflict about identity pervades the relationships between the students and the Instructional Aids. However, our information on this point is inconclusive. One Navajo senior, interviewed this summer in her home community, when asked whom she turned to for help in discussing problems, named the Head of the dormitory. The girl regarded the Instructional Aids as unhelpful, saying "they are all Indian."

As the experience of the project team accumulated, it became increasingly clear that more complete data on a sample of students was needed. Such data could serve a variety of purposes:

a) fill in the gaps of information available in the school records particularily concerning the social and family histories of the students,

b) correct biases in types of students referred to the project by sampling well adjusted students in addition to those judged to be poorly adjusted,

c) provide an opportunity to systematically try out various interviewing techniques and psychometric instruments,

d) develop a body of case material which could be used in the in-service training program.

Because the budget in the original proposal was not sufficient to support this work, a supplementary proposal was submitted, and was approved. The first step was to obtain a pool of names from which the sample could be drawn. This was done by requesting all departments in the school to have their staff submit three names in each of the following categories: well adjusted, average adjusted, and poorly adjusted boys and girls separately. No definition of adjustment was given, because it was felt that each staff member had some conception of it, and it was thought that the project could obtain some insights into it by an analysis of the names given.

Some biases occurred as natural consequences of the type of department, the way in which the names were submitted, and the fact that some staff members were on vacation. Some of these biases were readily detected. For example very few young children were selected in any of the categories. This could be attributable to a number of factors. There are fewer young children (less than 10 years old) at the school, and fewer numbers of staff members have contact with them. It is also suspected that the staff is somewhat more tolerant of the behavior of the younger children. By contrast to the older students, the concept of adjustment may not be as readily applied to the younger.

Certainly the immediacy of the need to adjust to non-Indian culture is not as great and the future adjustment of the younger students may be viewed with more optimism.

The Guidance Department submitted their lists upon the recommendations of the Department Heads. Thus the opinions of the Instructional Aids were not well represented. However, the project team was familiar with the attitudes of the Aids through the group meetings.

Students had different opportunities to be named as a function of their programs. Bordertown students were known only by the dormitory staff and possibly the Recreation Department. Students in the ungraded program were familiar primarily

to only one teacher, whereas those in the regular high school were known to several teachers. Care had to be taken that the judgments of the academic staff were given fair representation.

Examination of the lists of names proved interesting. Relatively few Pueblo students were named to the well-adjusted group. The status of the Pueblos has been mentioned previously, and this is just another bit of evidence of the kind of expectations that the staff has for this group of students. No Navajo students were placed in the poorly adjusted groups. It is difficult to say whether these tribal differences reflect prejudices on the part of the staff or are simply indications of the actual situation.

In general agreement was good. The selection procedure was to first make up a list of names of students who had been placed in a single group by two or more staff members. A final selection was made on the basis of the following criteria:

a) If a student were named for more than one category, there had to be a majority in one and only one adjacent category used by the minority.

b) The student had to be named by more than one department, i.g. -- academic and shop.

c) As near as possible the groups were balanced for sex, age, academic program and tribe. This was not altogether successful because of the biases indicated above.

There was a group of approximately ten students about whom there was maximum disagreement, i.e. placed in the well-adjusted group by one staff member and in the poorly adjusted group by another. This would be an interesting group to study separately to determine what factors contribute to the difference of opinion. However, it is not anticipated that this will be undertaken until work has been completed on most of the other cases.

The AIS records of each of the selected cases have been checked. Five trips have been made to the reservation to examine other records and to make family contacts. Some psychiatric interviews and psychological evaluations have been conducted on about five cases. To date no case has been completed though partial information has been collected on about ten. Appendix III consists of excerpts from the logs reporting a field visit by the Psychiatric Social Worker. This is included because it presents an indication of the type of interview which is being conducted and the kinds of problems which are being experienced in carrying out this work.

V. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Part of the goal of the present project is to develop an appropriate role for mental health professionals to play in a residential school. Gradually this is taking form, but sharp delineation of role is not possible as yet because the project staff itself is still in the process of understanding the needs of the school and of developing procedures for meeting them which are compatible (or at least not overtly incompatible) with existing formal and informal policies, attitudes, and behaviors. This is possible because within any organization there is both a formal and informal structure. If there is some aspect of policy made by the formal structure that is not entirely acceptable to the informal structure, it may be interpolated in such a fashion as to be consistent while manifesting compliance.

The major effort of the project during its first year was directed toward modifying attitudes and behavior in lower echelon of staff (having direct contact with students) without disturbing the formal structure. The formal structure was kept informed of activities in advance so that changes were not unanticipated. Such communication served to minimize any detrimental effects that can occur in a communication breakdown. The approach taken entailed the assumption, which was subsequently confirmed that there was more concern about the actual accomplishment of certain school goals (e.g., adherence to rules and regulations, appropriate academic performance and conduct, discharge of responsibilities for dormitory tidiness, etc.) than with the method of accomplishment. It seemed, then, that some degree of latitude was available to the dormitory staff and that it was possible to institute changes in attitude and behavior within this degree of latitude which would be conducive to greater mental health and satisfactory emotional development.

The neutrality of the administration and the fact that the project personnel were not used to aid in decision-making about students supported the goals of the project to communicate their position of being on campus to be helpful and of being neutral with regard to any conflict between school staff levels or departments. To the implicit question of "which side" we were on, an attempt was made to communicate that we were on the students' side but were attempting to be objective and constructive and cognizant of the realities of the immediate situation. We also attempted to communicate a helpful and non-evaluative role to the Instructional Aids. There is some indication that the seeking of consultation carried with the implication of having failed in some way. This was obviated to some degree by direct and personalized relationship with the project staff and by the support of the Director of Guidance who readily allowed free access to project personnel by all persons responsible to him without communication to or through his office (minimizing the communication of implied failure to an authority figure).

Referrals and requests for consultation, nonetheless, still come in the form of subtle or oblique approaches (i.e., "here's a student you might be interested in," etc.). Office hours and formal referrals became quite unfruitful but informal social contacts and oblique messages (i.e., a memo from a teacher-adviser to a department head describing difficulties a student may be having with a copy to the project staff) have been the approaches employed. The lack of a clearly defined position in the formal structure of the school's organization, the non-BIA sponsorship, and the lack of identification with the administration have led to the sharing with the project personnel of grievances about working conditions and concerns about personal matters on the part of the Aids. Some of the concerns of staff members about their own children in terms of loss of traditional values and language obviously mirror concerns and dilemmas regarding the school students.

This type of relationship with the Aids has led to advantages in allowing us to work with the behavioral latitudes referred to earlier. It has also presented certain problems in attempting to conduct "research" even in its broadest sense. Some of the very same dormitory Aids who have felt comfortable enough to describe and discuss their own family problems have blocked on (for example) filling out objective personal-data sheets, i.e. places lived, size of family, school history, etc.

The project personnel have accepted and respected this attitude and have not been aggressive in collecting "data." It has been felt that the loss in rigor has met by the maintenance of relationships. This has, of course, precluded the use of the usual kinds of evaluation of the effects of such relationships (pre-and post-administration of attitude scales, etc.) and left only indirect measures of effectiveness (quantity and quality of referrals, nature of communications, etc.). One sign of possible change here has been the intrusion with ever-increasing comfort of a tape recorder in the training sessions.

It is likely, and the project personnel have some evidence for this, that there is considerable variation from one Indian boarding school to another in these attributes despite the general framework within which all operate. Therefore, conclusions from the present study are not necessarily transferable to other settings. In a similar light, the "styles" of the project personnel themselves show variation which would preclude ready transference to other workers in other situations. Nonetheless, in the coming year it is hoped that approaches may be more clearly delineated and developed so that generalizable contours of an Indian boarding school mental health program may be formulated.

In all, despite the individuality of the setting and the individuality of the project personnel, it is felt that a number of boarding school parameters are being identified. Also, communicable concepts and procedures for being utility, and even of affecting some change with recognition of the conditions under which these must be attempted with any chance of survival (in terms of utility and use,) are being identified. The next year will see the extension and clarification of these issues and activities.

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL HISTORY

Family E-- is from Isleta Pueblo. Her mother is from Laguna and her father is from Isleta.

Father	8-30-24
Mother	5-23-24
Brother	7- 8-45
Sister	6- 8-47
Sister	2-21-49
Sister	12- 6-50
E--	3-11-54
Brother	9-18-55
Brother	12-11-61

E-- tells me that her paternal grandfather also lives in the home. Living conditions, according to Welfare, are very poor and the children are lacking adequate food and clothing. There is one bedroom in the house. E-- reports that her father is a farmer and silversmith and that her mother does ironing for a lady. Welfare reports that the mother, who went to AIS, is probably retarded. The father has a record of stealing and drinking. Neither parent exercised control over the children, who were truant from school and into trouble. The girls were placed in boarding school by order of the Tribal Court.

Problem E-- first came to Albuquerque Indian School in September 1963, having attended the Santa Fe Indian School for the previous three years. In the dormitory here she had no friends among the other girls her age, and in fact was used by the group as a scapegoat. The child hung around adult staff members demanding attention. She was assaultive, especially with a cute little six-year old in the dormitory who was the pet of the staff. In conversation she appeared to be out of contact at times; her eyes would go blank. E-- was depressed, crying and continually waiting for her mother to come and visit. She insisted that she did not want to stay at the school and was going home to live with parents and attend day school. The teacher reported that in class she tended to isolate herself and play alone.

School History E-- was sent to boarding school in Santa Fe in September 1960 at age 6 1/2, together with three older sisters (see above). Although no records from Santa Fe are available on the child's social adjustment, it is reported that she was extremely homesick, depressed and cried all the time. The dormitory staff were apparently concerned about masturbation and the child was referred to the Highlands University group which was making a preliminary survey at the Santa Fe School in 1961.

E-- was retained in second grade at Santa Fe, the record stating that she refused to work. She was tested on 5/20/63, in preparation for her transfer to AIS in the fall (when the Santa Fe School became the Institute of American Indian Arts), and her reading score was 1.9. E-- is in the ungraded elementary school here, with the youngest children. Her first quarter grades were all C's, with the exception of C- in Oral English, Writing, and Arithmetic and C- in Spelling, Reading, Effort and Citizenship.

Her teacher is a Negro woman who is warm, interested, and eager to help the children. She has arranged activities for the child which brings her into contact with the other children, and E-- seems to have responded. However, she is distractible and restless and undoubtedly has difficulty in concentrating.

Course I have seen E-- several times. She is hungry for attention, but I have the feeling that she relates very superficially. She is a manipulative child. The Welfare people question her intelligence, since she seems to have difficulty in counting, etc. Over the past weeks, E-- has been less depressed, although she still insists that she is going home to stay. I have the impression that her feelings about her mother are ambivalent, but that she does not have access to her negative feelings about either parent.

PSYCHOLOGICAL REPORT

E-- was seen at the Albuquerque Indian School on 1-9-64 at the request of Mrs. Harrover of the Mental Health Project. The presenting complaints were that she indulged in demanding behavior, cried easily, acted as a scapegoat, and a constant and incorrect theme that her mother was coming to take her. Some of the staff had complained that she appeared to "go out of contact" and that her eyes might go blank. There has been concern on the part of some of the staff that she might be severely emotionally disturbed.

The child has some family problems which are detailed elsewhere. She has received achievement testing, 5-20-63, where her general grade placement is 1.9. She is in an ungraded elementary class where she obtains C level grades.

When seen, E-- was shy and kept considerable physical distance between herself and the examiner as they walked from her class room to the examining room. She was very reluctant to talk to the examiner who was forced to cajole her into cooperation with the aid of candies left in the room by Mrs. Harrover. She was able to answer questions and even asked some spontaneously as the session wore on.

E-- was administered the 1960 Revision of the Standford-Binet, Form L-M, some Thematic Aperception Test pictures and the Rorschach Ink Blots.

On the Binet, she obtained an overall mental age of seven years and four months which resulted in an IQ of 73. This is calculated from a chronological age of nine years and ten months. There is some discrepancy in the records as to her birth date. If she were considered as one year younger, the resultant IQ figure would be 81. She passed all items at Year VI with successive failures to no successes at all (of only 2 items attempted) at Year X. Her highest successes (at Year VIII) were to vocabulary, a social comprehension item, and ability to remember the details in a story. These kinds of results would suggest that she is not hampered to a significantly greater degree by verbal or culturally loaded items though she is not a verbally oriented child.

The projective test materials revealed no signs of disturbed thinking or perceptions. The patterning of answers and the formal scoring patterns of the Rorschach were quite in keeping with her estimated mental age. One noteworthy aspect of the TAT was a constantly sad theme in all stories. In every case, the central figure is sad or crying and E-- was usually not able to discuss any source to such unhappiness. In one story at least, a wife was very sad because she is trying to talk to her husband, but he is simply mad at her. In view of the records suggesting that the father is an alcoholic who avoids parental responsibility and the mother is anti-education and possibly retarded, the child may be reflecting current depression over the mixed feelings she has about attending school in defiance of her parents and her inability to communicate (or find an audience for) her mixed feelings.

The diagnostic impression of the child is of a situational reaction of childhood (depression and anxiety) in a child of dull intelligence, but without any seriously debilitating personality characteristics. Actually, it is possible that her intelligance is not significantly lower than that of her peers, but her personal feelings are interfering with her social and academic efficiency. Supportive counseling would be quite helpful and, if the parents are not capable of change, consideration should be given to foster home placement in time.

APPENDIX II

Excerpts From the Log on a Family Interview

The S--'s house is of wooden construction, with a concrete porch, pitched roof, and over the screen door is the name of the S--'s in metal letters which father told me during the interview was an innovation of Herman's. As we sat on the porch, I could look inside at the Kitchen where there was a modern gas stove; there was a washing machine on the porch, and a TV antenna. The family lives here the year around, and the father works in Albuquerque on construction, driving back and forth in his pickup.

Interview Procedure Mr. S-- is a short, very energetic man who appears to be around 45 years of age. He projected himself into the interview and seemed geared to answer all my questions. I was determined this time to include the mother in the conversation. Therefore, I asked specifically if she were home, which she was and whether she would have time to join us for a little while. Mrs. S-- appears younger than her husband although it is very difficult for me to judge ages of adults or children. She was wearing a long skirt and a velvet blouse and had black and white saddle shoes on. Mrs. S-- permitted her husband to do most of the talking, and I asked Mr. Becenti to translate into Navajo what the father and I said in English. When any question which involved an opinion came up, I also asked for the mother to respond. This was a time consuming technique, but it revealed different points of view by the parents on certain issues. Along with the interpreting there was a talk back and forth between Mr. Becenti and Mr. S-- in Navajo about what Mr. Becenti did and about the construction taking place on the church and where Mr. S-- might buy cement and this kind of thing. I could hear enough of the English words which were not translated to follow what was going on.

I was using for the first time in this interview a family history outline which cover six major areas, social organization under which is not only clan and kinship but also significant activities of the family, language spoken in the home, and mobility of the family group. The second area relates to the economic status of the family. This third is the health history of the child inparticular and under this the medical services used, whether the medicine man sings or public health doctors are called. The fourth group is developmental history of the child. I had some doubt whether it would ever be reasonable to expect to get into this area certainly in the first visit. The fifth area was school history. And the sixth area related to parent expectation for the child in the future and specifically how the parents think the school is contributing. The achievement of these expectations and how they see the family and the tribe contributing. I had gone over this outline with Mr. Becenti before we went to the S--'s home so that he would be generally familiar with the kind of thing about which we would be talking.

I made no attempt to follow the order of this outline rigidly, as I do not believe in doing that since it does not give an opportunity for the interviewee to focus on what he considers most significant; therefore, in this interview the area which came up first for discussion was education. This may be because both Mr. Becenti and myself appeared inevitably to be associated with the school. And this was our reason for an interest in the family. I did explain through Mr. Becenti that I was not connected with the Bureau but was associated with Highlands University to study the Albuquerque Indian School. But even that has a connection with a scholastic institution. In any event the educational history of the family is as follows:

Father went through seventh grade at AIS. He said that he ran away from school because by that age, seventeen years, he felt that he was a grown man and could make a living and that education was unnecessary. He expressed regret about his lack of education now and put this in terms of low earning ability.

Mother went through sixth grade at the Canoncito Day School and went to AIS for one half a year and then she left. She left because the maternal grandmother brought her back to heard sheep. Mother too expressed regret about not finishing high school, and she also put this in terms of her inability to earn a living and her lack of English.

This particular family is not migratory. They live in one place year round because of the father's employment. Father is not a veteran, and I assume that the family income is from his wages.

This family is distinguished by the fact that the father is an organizer and teacher in the Pentecostal Church. He started the group himself and tells us that the congregation consists of 100 people who come together every night. After the interview, the father took us through the church building which is not yet complete. It is already wired with electricity and there is a microphone up at the front, and I noticed two electric guitars there. With this kind of religious extremism, I wondered to myself whether this family still attended ceremonials or used the medicine man. I let this point go until we were talking about the health history of the child at which point mother told me that Herman had never been hospitalized and that he had always had good health. I asked whether the family used sings and the father replied that they used to use both sings and the health service, but now they do not use the medicine man at all. I did not ask him to elaborate on this, and I think it would be helpful to explore this point further with him.

When we returned to talking about school and Herman inparticular, father indicated that Herman might decide to go to public school in the fall instead of returning to AIS. The father intends to leave the decision entirely up to the boy

which is contrary to the "old ways," but father feels that if he attempted to function as a parent in the old way, there would be conflict between him and children who are growing up in the "new way." He became quite impassioned about the advantages of modern ways of doing things compared to old ways pointing dramatically to a hogan which stands next to the house and saying that that was the way people used to live in windowless huts, on a dirt floor, and now he has a television and all other conveniences. He says clearly that the importance of education is to enable Indians to get all the things that the white man has. For this reason he wants his children to go through college and not only to get all those things the white people have but also to be prepared to be the future leaders and politicians of the tribe.

Mother had something to say about public schools, and she expressed some disturbance because of the influence of "bad kids in school." She feels that Indian kids pick up these bad ways.

I asked some questions about clan relationship, and this question caused laughter. This is thinking in the "old way." My interpreter said that people may talk about clan relationships at the chaper house meetings, but that this is not meaningful to this family. I asked specifically what if a child is ready to marry. Father shrugged and said its "up to him." He may marry someone he meets at school, "falls in love," and father says he does not care whether his children marry a Negro, white person, or a Chinese. Mr. Becenti came in at this point saying that the old way the father looked for a healthy boy. So that this is the new way.